A

LETTER

TO A

Noble Lord,

Concerning the late

EXPEDITION

TO

CANADA.

By JER. DUMMER.

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My LORD,

YOUR Lordſhip demands of me Satisfaction in three Points, referring to the late unfortunate Expedition to *Canada*.

I. Of what Importance the Conqueſt of that Country would have been to the Crown, and whether it would have anſwer'd the Expence of the great Armament that was made againſt it.

II. Whether the Expedition was well concerted? And,

Laſtly, If the ill Succeſs of it ought wholly to be charg'd on *New-England*, as People here are made to believe.

The firſt of theſe Queſtions, *as to the Importance of the Conqueſt*, has been diſcus'd in a Pamphlet Publiſh'd within theſe few Days, but ſo imperfectly, that I have room left to give your Lordſhip the following Account.

Canada then is a poor Country, and in it ſelf little valuable: Its Situation between forty ſeven and fifty Degrees of North Latitude, and its being ſubject to Winds that blow from vaſt Lakes above a thouſand Leagues weſterly make it extremely cold and barren. The Ice locks up the Rivers, and the Snow covers the Ground more than half the Year, in which time conſequently very little Buſineſs or Commerce can go on.

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on. Yet this Severity of the Clime would render it more ſerviceable to *Great Britain*, than if it were under a temperate Meridian. For where the Cold is ſo extreme, and the Snow lies ſo long on the Ground, Sheep will hardly live, but never thrive ſo as to make the Wollen Manufactures practicable, which is the only thing that can make a Plantation unprofitable to the Crown. And as *Canada* (had it been reduc'd) muſt have been furniſh'd from hence with Manufactures for its own Inhabitants, ſo it would have been a convenient Mart to vend 'em to the numerous and populous *Indian* Nations round about 'em; with whom the People of *Canada* now maintain a great Traffick, and in Exchange for their *European* Commodities, receive the Skins of Bevers, Elks, Otters, Deers, Bears, Foxes, wild Cats, and other Creatures, with which the Woods of North *America* abound.

This Trade therefore would without doubt have made great Returns of Profit to the Nation, had the Expedition proſper'd; and yet I muſt tell you this was not the only, nor the main thing that mov'd Her Majeſty to enter upon it. Her Majeſty's principal View, (as ſhe was pleas'd to declare in Her Royal Inſtructions to the ſeveral Governours of the Continent) was to make Her good Subjects in that Part of the World eaſy and happy, which they can never be whilſt the *French* are Maſters of *Canada*.

The Situation of that Country gives the People an Opportunity to invade all the *Britiſh* Colonies when-ever they pleaſe. The River of St. *Lawrence* lies right oppoſite to *Newfoundland*, and the *French* Settlement is at the Head of it, from whence it ſtretches along weſterly on the Back-ſide of *New-Hampſhire*, the *Maſſachuſetts*, *Rhode-Iſland*, *Connecti-*

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cut, *New-York*, *Albany*, the *Jerseys*, *Pensilvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*. And as the *French* are on the back of us, so the *Indians* are behind them, who with their united Force often fall on the *English*, and may be able in time (if not extirpated) to drive 'em into the Sea.

The Ravages which they have continually committed on the Frontiers of *New-England*, their firing whole Towns and Villages, their butchering the People in cold Blood, and their unmanly Cruelties to the Women and Children is too sad, and too long a Story to be here related. I believe your Lordship never met with any thing like it in History, unless you have seen the Account which *Bartholomeo de las Cesas* Bishop of *Chiapa* in *New-Spain*, has given the World of the *Spanish* Barbarities to the poor *Indians* of *Peru* and *Mexico*. But tho' *New-England* has been the deepest Sufferer, yet the other Colonies and Factories have been far from escaping.

The *Hudson's Bay* Company will tell you they have had their full Share. In 1682, one Monsieur *de la Chaney* with some other Merchants of *Canada* equip'd several Ships of Force, and enter'd the Company's Factory at Port *Nelson*, burnt their Houses, and carried away their Effects to the Value of 25000 *l.* In 1684, they made a second Invasion, and plunder'd to the Amount of 10000 *l.* In 1686, Monsieur *De Troy* came by Land from *Canada* with a considerable Force, and took three of the Company's Factories at the Bottom of the Bay, murder'd some of the People, and inhumanely turn'd the rest to Sea in a rotten Bark with little Provision, so that most of 'em perish'd. This was in full Peace, but a Cruelty scarce us'd in the fiercest War. And this cost

coſt the Company 50000 *l.* In 1694, Monſieur *Dʼ Ibervelle* from *Canada* aſſaulted *York* Fort, took it, and carry'd off 20000 *l.* And the very laſt Month we had News, that the Governour of *Canada* had ſent a Party of Men to attack the Factory now there, but were bravely repuls'd. The whole which that Company has ſuffered from *Canada* is (as they have repreſented in ſeveral Memorials to the Government) upwards of Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds.

New-Foundland too has felt many Storms from this Quarter. It was twice invaded from thence and deſtroy'd about ſixteen or twenty Years ago. And not long ſince in the Year 1704, 5, Monſieur *Subercaſe* march'd from *Placentia* at the Head of 600 Men (moſt of 'em *Canadians*) and beſieg'd Fort *William* in *New Foundland* for five Weeks; but Captain *Moody* who commanded the Fort, did with 45 Men make a brave Defence, and oblige him to retire; but the Fort from its bad Situation being no way able to protect the Town of St. *John*'s, the Enemy burnt it as they went off, and the Damage which the Country then ſuffer'd was computed to be upwards of *Eighty Thouſand Pounds Sterling*. About the latter end of the next Year 1705, when Major *Lloyd* commanded the Fort, *Canada* made a ſecond Attempt with Succeſs; they took both the Fort and Caſtle which with the Town they laid in Aſhes, and carry'd away the Garriſon Priſoners (or rather Slaves) to *Quebeck*. The Loſs which *New Foundland* ſuſtain'd by this ſecond Misfortune was computed to be above a *hundred and fifty Thouſand Pounds Sterling*, not reckoning the Fort and Caſtle which were demoliſh'd nor 48 Pieces of Cannon, and great

great Quantities of Ammunition, and Stores of War of all ſorts, which the Enemy carry'd off. Nor did this Booty content 'em, but they laid the Inhabitants under Contribution obliging 'em to pay twenty thouſand Pounds for Leave to ſtay there: One Harbour paid 7000 *l.* in Bills of Exchange the laſt Year. So that I may venture to ſay the Money and Effects which the *French* have had from *New-Foundland* have amounted to more than the Expence which the King of *France* is at to maintain his Garriſons in *Placentia* and *Canada*.

If your Lordſhip ſhould enquire how it comes to paſs, that a handful of People (comparatively) ſhould have the Forts of *New-Foundland*, and *Hudſon*'s Bay thus at their Mercy, and be able beſides to alarm and diſtreſs ſo many Colonies on the Continent; I anſwer, 'Tis by Aſſiſtance of the *Indian* Nations, who are blindly bigotted to their Superſtitions, and therefore entirely devoted to their Intereſt; which the *French* daily ſtrengthen partly by marrying among 'em, and ſo accuſtoming themſelves to their wild Manner of Life; but principally by having their Miſſionaries ever with 'em, who teach 'em among other things that the Virgin *Mary* was a *French* Lady, and that her Son the Saviour of the World was crucified by the *Engliſh*, and therefore to deſtroy 'em is highly meritorious: Add then a Zeal for a falſe and bloody Religion to the natural Fierceneſs of the Savages, and what Wickedneſs is ſo *big* which they won't graſp, or Violence ſo *great* which they won't commit? And they have one inſuperable Advantage of their ſide as they live in a vaſt Wilderneſs, and are therefore themſelves inacceſſible, but can fall upon the Engliſh Towns whenever they pleaſe. For which reaſon there's no

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diſarming them but by extirpating the *French*, who both ſupply 'em with Arms and Ammunition, and pay 'em for all the Miſchief they do.

Thus, My LORD, You ſee what a reſtleſs and fatal Enemy *Canada* is to *North America*; what Murders and Depredations ſhe commits on her quiet Neighbours as well in Peace as in War. We hop'd the time was now come when we were to have made Repriſals, but Heaven has thought fit to diſappoint us, and we muſt be reſign'd. However I'm ſure it was worthy of Her Majeſty's Juſtice & Goodneſs to do Her part to diſperſe this *Band of Robbers*, and to reduce a Place which has been the Source of ſo many Evils to Her good *American* Subjects. For my part I'm both ſorry and aſham'd to hear ſome People leſſen the Deſign, nay treat it with open Contempt by ſaying, *it was of no moment in the World*; & *that ſeeing ſo many Men have been loſt, & ſo much Money ſpent about it, they hope ſome body will be made to pay the Reckoning*. Theſe Gentlemen muſt excuſe me, if I ſay theſe raſh and intemperate Words proceed partly from their Ignorance, but perhaps chiefly from a ſettled Reſolution not to like any thing the preſent Miniſtry does. Tho' they might know (if they pleas'd) that the *Late* Miniſtry came as heartily into it as *this*, and that in their Adminiſtration a Fleet under Vice-Admiral *Baker*, with Troops on board commanded by My Lord *Shannon*, bound on this Enterprize, lay ſome Months at *Portſmouth*, and had proceeded on it, if the Wind had favour'd before the Seaſon was too far advanc'd. But as then the Tories reproach'd it for being the Projection of that Miniſtry, ſo the other ſide for a contrary Reaſon do adviſedly exclaim againſt it now.

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☞ In ſum then to the firſt Queſtion; *Of what Importance would the Conqueſt of* Canada *be to the Crown*? I demand of Your Lordſhip, Would the annexing a large Country, extending above a thouſand Leagues towards the *Miſſaſippi*, and the Conſequence of this, namely a vaſt Fur Trade, and an Exportation of our Wollen Manufactures, and other *European* Commodities for the Supply of all that Territory and the adjacent *Indians*, would this be of any Importance? Or would the Security of the Factories of *Hudſon's Bay*, and Eleven flouriſhing Britiſh Colonies on the Continent, be of any moment? Or Laſtly, Is *New-Foundland* and the Fiſhery worth keeping, which gains out of the Sea ſuch immenſe Riches, is ſo great a Nurſery for Sailors, employs ſo many Ships, and makes large Returns home by *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the *Straits* in Pieces of Eight, and Bills of Exchange; I ſay, is this Fiſhery (which the Preſent Lord Treaſurer in one of his laſt Speeches in the Houſe of Commons, call'd the *Silver-Mine*) worth preſerving? Why then truly if any one of theſe Articles be of Value, it cannot be deny'd that the Expedition was well grounded. But now if *each* of theſe Points be of high Concern, and the Reduction of *Canada* would anſwer and ſecure 'em all, then it muſt be own'd to be a truly Great and Noble Deſign.

The next thing Your Lordſhip deſires Satisfaction in, is, *Whether the Expedition was well concerted.* To which I doubt not to anſwer, It was. The Troops employ'd in this Service were good, and for Number more than enough, which was certainly a right

measure. For it's good to be always sure, especially in Affairs, where if we fail once we may never have an Opportunity to make a second Attempt. Besides a little Superiority is necessary in case of Accidents, to which no Remedy can be apply'd at so great a Distance, as the Scene of this Action was to be. And as there was a superiour Land-Force, so there were 14 brave Men of War, a fine Train of Artillery, and all Stores of War in such a Quantity, that so well appointed a Fleet and Army was never before seen in that part of the World, and probably never will again. Then they were dispatch'd early, and Colonel *Nicholson* sent before to get every thing ready; for altho' (as I shall afterwards observe) they might have gone up the River of St. *Lawrence* in *September*, yet it's good to take Time by the Foretop, and to be rather too early than too late. In the next place, Colonel *Nicholson*'s marching by Land with a good Body of *English* and *Indians* to attack *Mont Real*, and thereby make a considerable Diversion was well laid. And all this carried on with that Secrecy, that even the Lords of the Admiralty who appointed the Fleet did not know the Service for which it was design'd. But the wisest Ministry can't presage Events, nor provide against all Casualties and Emergencies which often blast the fairest Enterprizes, and have actually defeated this, from which we expected to reap so much Glory and Advantage. Which introduces the last Article, *viz.*

Whether the unfortunate Miscarriage of this Expedition is to be imputed to the Government and People of New-England?

I am not ignorant, My LORD, of what is given out, that after *New-England* had made earneſt and repeated Applications to the Throne for this Expedition, and Her Majeſty had graciouſly come into it, at a time too when ſhe had the moſt preſſing Occaſions for Her Men and Money in *Flanders*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, that yet notwithſtanding the Country did *every thing in their Power to defeat the Succeſs of it, and that the Misfortune is to be wholly attributed to the barbarous Treatment of the Northern Colonies.* Nor am I unacquainted with the ſevere Menaces which ſome People uſe againſt 'em on this Occaſion, which yet I'll allow are juſt, and ought to be ſtrictly executed, if this Charge or any part of it be true. But let us conſider this Matter ſoberly.

I have often heard it ſaid, *That Men may lie, but Intereſt will not.* And if I know any thing of Mankind, this is a Rule that never fails. Now that the Reduction of *Canada* is of the laſt Conſequence to *New-England* can't be doubted from what has been already ſaid, unleſs one can believe, that the People there don't like to live in Peace and Security as well as the reſt of the World. I am ſure it has been the Cry of the whole Country ever ſince *Canada* was deliver'd up to the *French*, *Canada eſt delenda.* They always look'd upon it as a *Carthage* to the Northern Colonies, which if they did not deſtroy, would in time deſtroy them.

Of this they were ſo apprehenſive in the Year 1690, that they came unanimouſly into a great and expenſive Undertaking againſt it under the Command of Sir *William Phips*. But meeting with an unac-

countable Train of Diſappointments, return'd without doing any thing. This Enterprize coſt the ſingle Province of the *Maſſachuſetts* about fifty thouſand Pounds, which together with the Loſs of Abundance of their young *choſen Men* by a malignant Fever that reign'd in the Camp, and ſeveral Diſaſters that happen'd in their way home, gave that Province ſo deep a Wound, that it did not recover it ſelf in many Years after.

However about five Years ago, obſerving their *French* Neighbours to encreaſe and grow more and more formidable every Day, they reſolved to make 'em another Viſit; but not thinking themſelves ſtrong enough to deal with *Canada*, they were content to make only an Attempt on *Port-Royal*, which was accordingly done, but moſt unhappily miſcarry'd.

Yet far from being diſhearten'd by theſe Misfortunes, when Her Majeſty about three Years after, ſignified her gracious Intentions to reduce *Canada*, and deſir'd 'em to get ready their Quota, it can't be expreſs'd with what Chearfulneſs they came into it: They rais'd their Men immediately, cloath'd 'em handſomely, and diſciplin'd 'em for the Service, and had laid up Magazines of Proviſion both for their own and the Queen's Troops then ſhortly expected: And though the Court altering their Meaſures did not proceed in the Deſign, yet the Colonies, and particularly *New-England*, were at near the ſame Charge as if they had. Well; the next Year they rais'd a Body of Troops again, which commanded by Col. *Nicholſon*, and join'd by 500 Auxiliaries from hence, made another Attack on *Port-Royal*, and carried it,

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as every Body knows. Thus that poor Country, exhauſted by many expenſive and (all but one) fruitleſs Enterprizes, beſides the Oppreſſion of a twenty Years *French* and *Indian* War that has lain heavy upon 'em, yet did this Summer paſt furniſh more than the Quota aſſign'd 'em for this laſt fatal Expedition, and advanced at the ſame Time a great Sum for Her Majeſty's Forces, which it is not doubted the Juſtice of the Government will order ſoon to be paid, or elſe the People there are utterly ruin'd.

I ſhall only add one Thing more, that over and above theſe extraordinary Articles, the ſtanding yearly Charge of the Province of the *Maſſachuſetts*, to maintain their Barrier againſt the Enemy, is *thirty thouſand Pounds Communibus Annis*, which they would be eas'd of if *Canada* were taken.

And now, after all this to ſuggeſt, that the Country was not in good earneſt to promote the Expedition, but obſtructed it all they could, muſt appear to every Body as abſurd as falſe. But they tell you, *The* Boſton *Merchants found their Account in a clandeſtine Trade with the* French, *and no Wonder if they would not have the Seat of their Commerce broke up.* And thus the great Secret is out, and the true Reaſon (as you are to believe) why the Wheels mov'd ſo heavily. Well! Suppoſe this to be Fact, what's this to the General Aſſembly, who had the Conduct of the Expedition? Would they (do you think) forfeit their Honour with Her Majeſty, and betray their dear native Land, only to gratify a few ſmuggling Traders? But the beſt on't is, there's no Truth in this Allegation: The *Boſton* Merchants have more

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Honour and Conſcience and Love to their Country, (whatever ſome People may ſay of 'em here, judging them I ſuppoſe, by themſelves) than to engage in ſo criminal a Commerce. Indeed ſome Years ago, there were three Merchants at *Boſton* (neither of 'em of *Engliſh* Extraction, nor Natives of the Place, and two of 'em very new Comers) who were detected in a private Trade with ſome of the *French Indians*, which the General Aſſembly of the Province reſented ſo highly, as not to ſuffer 'em to be try'd by the ordinary Courts of Juſtice, but ſat themſelves in Judicature, and after a full hearing of the Delinquents, found 'em guilty, and laid on 'em ſuch heavy Fines, as they choſe rather to lie in Priſon than pay, till by Application here [*London*] they got the Sentence reverſed.

But the Gentlemen that accuſe the Colonies come to Particulars, and alledge, That when the Troops arriv'd, *there were no Proviſions got together, nor any thing in a Readineſs, though Colonel* Nicholſon *was diſpatch'd long before for that Purpoſe.* To which I anſwer, It is true, Colonel *Nicholſon* was ſent away early, but lying Wind bound two Months in the Weſt, and meeting with a long Paſſage, he arriv'd but a Fortnight before the Fleet; ſo that little could be done in ſo ſhort a Time. Eſpecially if you conſider that *Boſton* is ſupplyed with Proviſion from the neighbouring Colonies, and ſome Time at leaſt is requir'd to get it thence. To this I may add, that the conſtant Demands of the Garriſon at *Annapolis Royal*, and the furniſhing ſeveral of the Queen's Ships that had occaſionally put in there from *Europe* and the *Weſt Indies* a little before, had exhauſted the

the Country. However all that could be done, was done. The Government ſeiz'd all Veſſels outward and inward bound that had Proviſions on board, and appointed ſeveral Perſons to make diligent Search for all Species of Proviſions that could be found in any part of the Country, and to ſecure 'em for the Service. Whilſt at the ſame time the *Boſton* Gentlemen came generouſly into an Agreement among themſelves to live on their own Salt Meat in their Houſes, leſt there ſhould not be ſufficient freſh Proviſions for the Forces during their Stay there. With this Care the Fleet and Army were well provided, and ready to ſail in leſs than five Weeks. But they ſay, *this was too late, and there was no going up the River, and ſo the Expedition was loſt.* Admitting this to be true, yet 'tis plain it could not be help'd. But I muſt on the contrary with all Submiſſion aver that *Auguſt* and *September* are two very good Months for the Navigation of that River. For firſt, every body does or may know that the Store-ſhips from *France* which go there every Year, and are very large Ships always take that time, and I think this is one pretty good Argument. In the next place Sir *William Phips* in his Expedition did not enter the River till the 14th of *September*, and it was the beginning of the next Month before the Wind blew fair at Eaſt to carry him up.

Well, but when they were in the River, they were oblig'd to come away for fear the Colonies ſhould not ſend 'em a further Supply, in which caſe the Fleet muſt have ſtarv'd. I only wiſh for the Good of the Crown and the Plantations, that they had made the

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Experiment. For the Event proves that theſe Fears were groundleſs. The *Province Galley* ſail'd from *Boſton* the third of *September* for *Canada* with Proviſions, and ſo did the *Feverſham* Man of War with three Tranſports from *New-York* the 18th of the ſame Month; and (I'm told) that a Veſſel with eleven hundred Barrels of Prize Pork was going to 'em from *Newfoundland* at the ſame time, ſo that they could not have wanted; beſides the ten Weeks Proviſion they had on board would have kept 'em there longer than was neceſſary to have reduc'd the Place, and have brought 'em back to *Europe* or *Boſton*.

The next Charge is, That *as ſoon as the Fleet arrived, the People there debauch'd their Men from the Service, and conceal'd 'em in their Houſes.* That Seamen and Soldiers will deſert whenever they have Opportunity, is no new Thing, and that there ſhould be found in all Countries ſome few ill People to encourage and harbour 'em, is as little ſtrange. The Queſtion therefore is, How the Aſſembly of the Province then ſitting behav'd themſelves on this Occaſion. Why as ſoon as they were informed that ſuch things were done, they immediately paſs'd an Act wherein a ſpecial Court was erected to try all Offenders of that kind; and a Penalty of fifty Pounds or a Twelve-months Impriſonment without Bail or Mainprize injoin'd for the Offence. And for the ſpeedier Diſpatch, the Sheriff was impower'd to return the Jury, (a thing never before done in that Province) and all Officers required to enter any Houſes by Force where Soldiers or Sailors were ſuſpected to be conceal'd. To impute a Thing

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then to the Country in general, which they took these extraordinary Methods to prevent, is not only untrue but highly disingenuous.

The last Accusation against *New-England* is, *That they provided the Fleet with ignorant Pilots.* In answer to which it is sufficient to say, that they were the ablest and most experienc'd Men the Country had, and having been often in the River of St. *Lawrence* could not but know it particularly well. To what then, or to whom the Disaster that happen'd there is to be attributed I don't pretend to determine, but hope I have made it plain that the Government and People of *New-England* are entirely innocent, and have in every respect done their Duty.

I am sure the People there thought so, as appears by the Letters from thence, dated when the Fleet was ready to sail for *Canada*, since which we have receiv'd no Advices. The Governour of the *Massachusetts* writes to the Agent of that Colony at *London* thus: "The Fleet is now upon sailing, and "the Expedition has proceeded well, we having in "all things gone beyond the Quota Her Majesty "assign'd us. The Secretary of the Province thus: "The Expedition (of the last Importance to these "Plantations) has been brought forward beyond "what could have reasonably been expected, the "Supplies demanded being so large. The Govern-"ment have exerted their utmost Powers to encou-"rage it with all manner of Intention and Appli-"cation, and I hope the General and Admiral will "so represent it in their Favour. Another Person

of Note writes from *Boſton* in theſe Words: " Ne-
" ver any People fell into any matter with greater
" Alacrity and Application than theſe Colonies did
" into this, nor made a braver Diſpatch. They
" heartily and inſtantly comply'd with all Her Ma-
" jeſty's Directions, and perform'd even more than
" ſhe demanded.

Methinks this Conſciouſneſs of their well-doing without Fear or Thought of being blam'd has the Face of Innocence, Guilt being ever timerous and ſuſpicious. But I forbear any further Remarks, having already (as I flatter my ſelf) given your Lordſhip full Satisfaction.

I can't diſmiſs the Subject till I have expreſs'd my Hopes that *Canada*, which we miſs'd gaining in War, will be reſtor'd to us at the Peace now in Agitation. And that *Annapolis Royal*, which we have recover'd, will with the whole Country of *Nova Scotia* as far Eaſtward as the Iſland of St. *Paul* for ever remain to the Crown of *Great-Britain*. They originally belong'd to it *in Fact*, and do *of Right* now. All that Country on both Sides of the River of St *Lawrance* was ſeiz'd for the Crown about the Cloſe of the fifteenth Century by Sir *Sebaſtian Cabot*, Grand Pilot to *Henry* the Seventh, and by him ſent to find out ſuch Parts of *North America* as were left undiſcover'd by *Columbus*. The *French* pretend indeed to a Diſcovery of it by *John Verrazna* a *Florentine* under *Francis* the firſt of *France*; but this was in 1606, which being of a later Date could give the *French* King no Right to it. King *James* the Firſt therefore knowing his Title to be good

good, did in 1621 make a Grant of this Country to Sir *William Alexander* (afterwards Earl of *Sterling*) who ſettled a Colony there by the Name of *Nova Scotia*, and held poſſeſſion of it ſeveral Years. Yet upon the Marriage of King *Charles* the Firſt with the Lady *Henrietta Maria*, it was by Order of the King given up to the *French*. In 1627 and 28 we got it again, and the North-ſide of the River call'd *Canada* was given to Sir *David Kirk*, who was both Proprietor and Governour; and the South-ſide (call'd by the *French Accadia*) fell again into the Hands of Sir *William Alexander*. In 1632 it was given away again; though the King (when he found the *French* had poſſeſs'd themſelves of the whole Country) declar'd publickly that he had given away only the Forts, and not the Soil, and therefore attempted to recover it again but fail'd. Beſides the King of *France* oblig'd himſelf to pay in lieu of the Forts five thouſand Pounds to Sir *David Kirk*, which he never did, but his Family was ruin'd. *Cromwell* weighing the Premiſes ſent Col. *Sedgwick* in 1654 and retook it, and when he made Peace with *France* the following Year, tho' their Ambaſſador made preſſing Inſtances for the Reſtitution of it, yet he would not part with it, inſiſting that it was the ancient Inheritance of the Crown of *England*, and did of Right belong to it. Where-upon Monſieur *St. Eſtienne* Son and Heir to Monſieur *Claude de la Tour* a *French* Refugee, who bought *Nova Scotia* of the Earl of *Sterling*, came over into *England*, and making out his Title, had it deliver'd to him, and then ſold it to Sir *Thomas Temple*, who was Governour of it till the Reſtoration; ſoon after which King *Charles* deliver'd it

up

up again to the *French* and *Canada* with it, where they both reſted to the unſpeakable Loſs and Detriment of the Crown and the Plantations, till Col. *Nicholſon* lately recover'd the former.

From hence it's evident, that both *Canada* and *Nova Scotia* were the ancient Inheritance of this Crown. The only Queſtion is, Whether the Kings of *England* had Power to alienate theſe Countries, which being incorporated into the Crown were Parts of the Common-wealth, and deſcended to them from their Anceſtors? The Civilians and all that have wrote of the Law of Nations aſtabliſh it as a Rule, *Non alienandas eſſe Imperii partes.* They expreſly ſay, *That a Prince can no more alienate any Part of his Dominion, than the People may renounce their Obedience.* Thus * *Baldwin*, *Molina*, *Bodin*, *Mathæus Pariſienſis*, *Grotius* and *Puffendorf*, as may be ſeen in the Margin.

And

* Dominium Rex remittere & abdicare non poteſt, quia iſta eſſet expropriatio, quæ a ſupremo Principe fieri non poteſt. *Baldw. in prælud. feud. colum.* 8. *vertic. expedita. Molin. Tom.* 1. *p.* 1170. *nu.* 99. Prædia regalia & publica nullo modo abalienari poſſunt ut ſit in civitatibus firmamentum aliquod & veluti fundamentum quo publica res nitatur. Quamobrem hujus regni Principes cum prædia publica privatorum fraudibus obſeſſa revocant, illud obteſtantur ſe juratos ineunte imperio publica prædia nunquam diſtrahi paſſuros. Atque hæc quidem rebus ſæpe judicatis confirmata fuere, nec tantum noſtris ſed etiam Hiſpanorum, Anglorum, Polonorum, & Hungarorum legibus ac inſtitutis. *Bod. de republica, Edit. Francofurt. p.* 1000. *l. c.* 2. Vide *Math. Pariſ. p.* 306, 308. *Grot. de Jure Belli & Pacis, l.* 2. *c.* 5. *integrum caput. Puff. de Lege Natur. & Gentium, l.* 3. *c.* 5. *Sir* Robert Cotton's *Preſ.* 1. R. 2. *n.* 48. 1. H. 4. *n.* 100. 6. H. 4. *n.* 29, 52. 1. H. 5. *c.* 9. 28. H. 6. *n.* 54. *With many other Parliament-Rolls.*

And for our own Laws, Sir *Robert Cotton* in his *Preface* to the Abridgment of the Rolls in the *Tower* obſerves, That our Parliaments have at all Times been careful to reſume Lands alien'd from the Crown, which they condemned as an undue Practice, and therefore re-united them. If then it was wrong to diſpoſe of Lands that were the Patrimony of the Crown, how much more ſo muſt it be to give away the Subjects Property, and to alienate part of the Empire to a foreign Power? If the former were to be inviolable, then the latter *a fortiori* muſt be ſacred and inalienable. If it be pleaded that theſe Countries came to the Crown by Acquiſition, and therefore may be diſpos'd of at Pleaſure, I reply, that they were not acquir'd by *Charles* the Firſt and Second, but came to 'em both by Hereditary Deſcent; and further, that if Acquiſition gives a Right of Alienation, then it is within the Prerogative to give or ſell *Ireland* and all the Plantations to any Potentate in *Europe*, which I believe no Lawyer in *Great Britain* will give under his Hand for Law.

Our Title appears equal on both Sides of the River of St. *Lawrence*, that is, *Canada* on the North, and *Nova Scotia* or (as the *French* call it) *Accadia* on the South. But I muſt beg leave to ſay, that in Point of Intereſt the latter is of more Conſequence to the Crown than the former. For when that is in the *French* Hands, it's a Bridle to the Eaſtern Parts of *New-England*, where the tall Pines grow, which are yearly brought home in the Maſt-fleet; and indeed where there is ſuch a vaſt Quantity of Naval Stores of all ſorts, as is not to be found in any

any part of the World. I conceive therefore that ſeeing Naval Stores are growing ſcarce and valuable all over *Europe*, and the Strength and Glory of our Nation depends upon 'em, and yet we are at the Pleaſure of the *Ruſs* and the *Swede* whether we ſhall have 'em or no, and that at their own exceſſive Prices; ſurely we ſhould take Care to ſecure what we have in *America* as an eneſtimable Treaſure. Beſides if we ſhould leave this Country to the *French*, we ſhall be defeated of our Ends in turning 'em out of *Newfoundland*. For they'll find *here* as good a Fiſhery as they left *there*, and infinitely better Harbours, and conſequently will ſtill be able to bring their Fiſh to *Europe* and damp our Markets as formerly; and we ſhall have one fatal Diſadvantage more by the Bargain, in that we remove 'em from an Iſland to the Continent, where they have more room to ſpread and encreaſe to the Terror of Her Majeſty's Subjects. In one word then, if we give up this Place, our Naval Stores are gone, our Fiſhery is extremely hurt, and we loſe the only Opportunity which we may probably ever have to eſtabliſh the Peace and Security of all the flouriſhing Colonies on the Continent; which I hope Her Majeſty and Her Miniſtry will in their Wiſdom conſider.

Thus, My LORD, I have anſwer'd the three Queſtions relating to the unhappy Expedition to *Canada*; which I've done as well in Obedience to your Lordſhip's Commands, as for other weighty Obligations that make it my Duty.

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I conclude with assuring your Lordship, that I am with the highest Respect,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's Devoted

Humble Servant,

Jer. Dummer.